

All not Quiet on Western Frontiers

Levies, Rifle, Scout, Militia and Army (1850-2017)

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Pakistan North Western Frontier are the confluence of civilization and mountain ranges , Himalayas, Karakorum and Hindu Kush. Among them Hindu Kush historically have been the eye of the storm. Evolution and the role of Militia and army in marinating peace and violence .

Title.

All not Quiet on Western Frontier

Levies, Militia, Scouts & Army along Durand Line

Case Study of North Waziristan 1895-2012.

Introduction.

The very word Waziristan for last hundred years have become synonyms with military incompetency, defeat, brutality, innovation in military warfare, it is a source of debate on the very nature of military force because if an army well fed, well equipped well trained despite expending a considerable amount of national exchequer is still unable to wrest the notion of victory from the ill-educated, ill fed, ill equipped and savage tribes men then what is the use of such a military organisation.

For last decade a military operation is being conducted in Waziristan by the NATO, America, Afghanistan and Pakistan, still the notion of victory is with these tribes. There are allegations and counter allegations among all the belligerents as to who is not doing enough to stop this stem of terrorism. As a result the Waziristan has been closed for outside world, there is no media here, and no visitors from outside world and only army and natives are living.

Culture and civilisation are two inherent threads which tends to explain a new paradigm to understand the causes of human conflict. ‘Aryans ,Persians all originated from Pamirs’¹ . Some of these Aryan tribes settled in the few of the valleys through which they marched down towards Indus, one such valley is Tochi Valley which is part of North Waziristan Agency today and inhabited by Wazir and Daur Tribe. From 1895 onwards when British established their political control along the Frontier especially in Waziristan this valley alone has been the most violent in nature, often erupting suddenly and then calming down. It has happened in 1898, 1915, 1936 and now again since 2005 this valley is in forefront receiving almost hundred per cent more Drone attacks as compared to any other valley. North Waziristan covers an area of 2318 square miles . Tochi Valley from DattaKhel to Khajuri is fertile and intensively cultivated with the water of the Tochi River. On its North West is Afghanistan, in the North East is Kurram Agency a shia majority, in the South is South Waziristan , in the East is Bannu and Kohat Divisions or the settled areas of Indus Civilisation

¹Matthew Arnold& Marie Snell *Sohrab&Rustam an episode*, ,{ Werner,Chicago,1896},p-82.

Greek historians and literature are one of the most authentic and widely referred sources since 500 BC. There are other civilisations like China which also have a very rich history preserved. Greek narrates evolution of human society around their island city states. The very first laws and constitutions were formed, Aristotle studied no less than 158 such constitutions of his city states. Greek invaded India under Alexander the Great in 323 BC and from here a lasting bond developed between these two civilisations. One of the major subject of interest among ancient writers has been the role, conduct and very idea of military and that of war itself. Greeks had mercenaries troops among them, Alexander had native troops as part of his army.

Geography plays an important part in the formation of a civilisations culture, England by virtue of its being island had and still have a different approach where navy is more important than foot army. Arabia is all desert and have peculiar mind-set, India on the other hand is a sub-continent by itself containing many nations and civilisations in it. On the north it is bounded by Himalayas and on west by Hindu Kush, on east by deep thick jungles and on south by a sea.

Almost all migration into India took place from east through Hindu Kush, the ancient Aryans who over powered the native Dravidians also descended through numerous valleys of this mountainous region. There are no less than six major riparian valleys that links the Central Asia or Afghanistan to Indus River, one such valley is Tochi River Valley. These valleys of Hindukush from north to descending south are a amalgamation of racial tribes including Balti, Gilgiti, Chitrali and then pathans which itself are composed of no less than a dosen tribes.

From 100 BC to 1763 AD regular invasion of mainland India took palce through these valleys, most famous being the Mahmood of Ghazna who in 1000-1038 AD raided and plundered India at will, his most frequent route was through Tochi Valley.

From 1700 AD onwards British East India Company a trading company established itself on the eastern coast of India and from there they moved west ward. By early part of 1800 they had a genuine fear of Napoleon and later that of Russia for their crown of Jewel colony.

The most common method of resorting to war was adopted to establish a safe frontier on the west by subjugating Afghanistan but resultant military expedition of 1839 proved to be a disaster unparallel in British history when all but one soldier out of 16,000 was able to survive the ordeal. As a result of this fiasco Sind was annexed in 1842 and later after two bloody Anglo-Sikh wars the Punjab was also annexed in 1849, modern history of western India starts from this year onwards.

Till 1893 an effort was made by the British to provide security to their subjects which they have inherited from the Sikh empire with basic civic amenities like school, administration, railway, roads hospitals and revenue reforms. The area on west of Indus thus was divided into two halves one

known as settled districts and other as Tribal Area. One more futile war with Afghanistan resulted in demarcating and dividing the sphere of interest with the western frontier of India being demarcated for the first time ever under the Durand Line agreement. This divided the tribes in many valleys into two states or one nation into two states.

The valleys were designated as political agencies which by itself is a new concept, the area was inhabited by the tribes who were living semi nomadic life pattern with each tribe sovereign in its own right.

Thesis Spectrum

1. Civilisation and culture; are two fundamental concepts and these two cardinal aspects have to be explained in history of Durand Line, explored through geography and then applying them to the North Waziristan to assess whether there exists a separate civilisation or not.
2. In North Waziristan, how this collision of civilisation did occurred, the high and low points 1850-2013.
3. Levies, Militia, Scouts, & Army represent the cultural icons of settled administration, what was the impact on the native tribes, whether these organisations reduce the conflict or aggravate it.

Research Methodology

Durand Line is an inaccessible, rugged, hostile, extreme weather phenomena , with poor historical archiving before 1850 and excellent record keeping from 1895-1947 and then again drifting back to millennium old habit of poor archiving; from 2000 -2013 the War against Terror has practically forbidden any field research work.

The media becomes a primary source in such environments especially the video aspect assumes greater importance. But again the experience of Vietnam War 1967 and Gulf War 1990 and American invasion on Iraq 2003 reminds us of the fallibility of such video clippings and press releases.

Empirical study remains the most reliable tool in our hand to challenge everything written or told to us, it requires physical evidence. Thus a year long stay with the Frontier Corps in North Waziristan and another in Khyber and Chitral provides the best possible means for research evaluation. Intensive interviews with soldiers and scouts of various tribes, the regimental histories,

visitor books, official correspondences, visit to the battle fields, stay with the scouts, and available study material both published and unpublished completes the puzzle.

Part One. Historical Setting

It deals with the setting, it includes the geography, history and demography of the area with special emphasis on the time period between 1850-1947.

Part Two. Forward Policy & Great Game

What was Forward Policy, how it was evolved, was it effective and realistic. Its impact on the Tribes of Durand Line. How appropriate the policy is today.

British military organisation in North Western Frontier which include the raising of Punjab Irregular Frontier Force, Levies, Scouts, apart from the meaning of Khassadars, Agency, political agent and relationship of crown with states will be covered. The military and political structure of the North Waziristan and other valleys like Gilgit, Kurram will also be highlighted.

Chain of events that took place at North Waziristan between 1936 - 1947 when over 30,000 regular troops of British military were deployed in the area. It provides a comparative analysis of present era

Part Three. North Waziristan

The expansion of the cultural war to North Waziristan from 2000 onwards, the prevailing environment of the area and how does this comply with traditional way of warfare. The attitude of local population towards this, what causes the cultural conflicts in the valley.

What are the military organisations in the area, how they were evolved, how effective they are, what are the conflicts among these.

Part Four. Validity of concept, Clash of Civilisation

To analyse the concept of Clash of Civilisation with Pakistan in light of International law and customs.

North Waziristan taken as case study will highlight the causal cycle that erupts in regular violence and also to determine how the cultural misunderstandings fuel this mind set.

Conceptualisation

Civilisation

'Clash of civilisations are the greatest threat to world peace and an international order based on civilisation is the surest safeguard against world war'². Whereas the history or the epigraphy of Nile and Euphrates has been able to pass down to us the culture and religion of these two great civilisations in the form of tablets and seals which inform us of the deities, the codes the life pattern of those ancients people with certainty, we know that Gilgamesh fighting with lions that dates back to 3000 years BC it is 1 and half inch in length and is preserved in British Museum, there are quite a number of seals showing men with wings, heavily manned lions then there are very elaborate seals which depicts a sow walking with almost half a dozen of her siblings through a field³, but no such thing or evidence was available for India other than the oral traditions which are called Vedas before the archaeological excavation carried out in 1922 in Indus Valley which have been termed as one of the greatest of our time. It is a coincidence that two of the greatest riddles of human civilization were unlocked in the same century the finding of the Pyramids and Indus Valley ruins. Therefore one has to look into the Nile and Euphrates cultures of the past to find the similarities in the Indus Valley civilization as such to fill the vacuum of data.

Tribes.

Modern man is living in a society which is based upon written constitutions and laws, people have realigned themselves into new nationalities & identities like American or for that matter just being a New Yorker but there are deep roots in tribal societies as well. In Scotland one is still known as the tribe he belongs, but nowhere is this identity as strong as in Waziristan or among the tribes of Durand Line. They have similar oral history, ancestors, blood lines, language, customs and culture. Despite living in modern world they adhere by the code of their ancestors which in majority of cases are in contravention to the existing laws and regulations.

How does this tribal code of life coexist with the written laws, that seems to be the vital question. In case of North Waziristan the people belongs to the Aryan Tribe.

²Samuel Huntington, *Clash of Civilisation* {Penguin, New York, 1998}p-6

³ Dawn of Civilisations, the seals are marked as such majority of them are in British Museum and Louvre Museum in Paris.

Wazirs are an ancient Pathan tribe, Aryan in nature who with the passage of history migrated with the pioneer Aryan tribes and instead of descending down to the Indus Valley preferred to have their habitat in the mountainous region of Hindu Kush close to the Indus itself rather than dwelling at the plains.

Aryans were a fun loving people who were believers in a monotheistic deity. They lived in a close knit clan society where friendship was regarded as a sign of nobility and refusing alms to a person asking for it was looked down. Women were respected yet they were not involved in the spheres of running the society. Intoxication through natural herb was an acceptable part of the society, mother in laws were feared and gambling was a sport. Horse was the most precious property of an Aryan. Above all it was the militant cultures which distinguish these Aryans from other tribes. Rig Veda mention a tribe by the name of Pakhta which is identified with present day Pathans.⁴

Great Game & Forward Policy

The political and military rivalry of European continent also had its effects on the sub continental politics, initially British had apprehensions about the Napoleon's advance towards the India which were later replaced by the Russians after the treaty of Vienna in 1815. By this time in history the area West of present day Afghanistan was a conglomeration of independent small valley states all Islamic in nature like Khiva and Merv⁵, these were captured by the Russians therefore British in order to keep an eye on the affairs wanted to have a friendly and a subservient ruler in Kabul which was at time under control of a Pathan, Dost Muhammad { 1793 – 1863 }. British failed in diplomacy to achieve their aim and therefore the **First Anglo Afghan war started in 1839**. Ranjeet Singh did not allow troops of BEIC to march through his territory which was the most feasible in terms of logistics, that stands out as a master piece of diplomacy. The First Anglo Afghan war did achieve for a brief time a friendly Afghan ruler, the Shah Shuja at Kabul, however Afghans revolted against Shah Shuja and British Consulate at Kabul was burnt in 1841⁶, thus ended the sphere of influence in Afghanistan for the British, Dost Muhammad was back to throne and this time he ruled

⁴Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume 1, Indian Empire Descriptive. {Oxford, clarendon, 1907-1909} pp, 360-370.

⁵Anila, Bali. *THE RUSSO-AFGHAN BOUNDARY DEMARCATION 1884-95: BRITAIN AND THE RUSSIAN THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF INDIA*, {School of Humanities, University of Ulster. Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil. 1985}. pp 25-27

⁶ Azmat, Hayat, *The Durand Line its Geo-Strategic Importance* { Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2000 } pp 63-64

till his death in 1863. Out of the original 16000 troops only one escaped death to narrate the events, this was the single most worst military disaster that felt upon the BEIC since their formation.⁷

British made an effort to obtain peace on their Western Frontiers through a string of peace treaties and agreements mixed with usual dose of military expeditions. This westward advance started from the south i.e present day Baluchistan, which to some extent acts as a case study in the eventual move towards the west.

Waziristan & Forward Policy

Waziristan came into prominence due to Forward Policy after the annexation of Punjab in 1849. Waziristan proved to be an enigma for the British as the settled districts of DeraJats were constantly raided by the Mahsuds distant relatives of Wazirs. The tribal society in Waziristan was primitive in nature, more akin to the early city states of Greece; democrats, without any hierarchical kingship, all being treated equal .. Reconstructing the past from present leaves little to debate that the tribes inhabiting the Waziristan are none other but the Aryans, they are fair in colour, militant, fun loving, prefers clan, monotheistic in nature, enjoys intoxication through herbs, long nose, broad head with plenty of hair and extremely independent in nature. Small villages are scattered all over the agency. The inhabitants lives in villages of all sizes. The general grouping and frequency of villages vary from valley to valley but these are invariably defended by mud bricks wall and towers. A peculiarity of many Wazir villages is their close proximity to large caves, to which the tribesmen have access as dwelling places in winter for the sake of protection from harsh weather. These caves are also admirable as an air raid shelters. The way of life is as primitive as it was almost thousand years in every aspect not only in terms of construction of houses but also in the form of social values which are termed as Riwaj. Each village is the home of a certain clan which for all practical purposes acts and behaves as a sovereign state, formulating and ratifying treaties and declaring war providing amnesty and shelter to outlaws from other clans depending upon either a collective decision or at times acting at their own will. Surrounding grazing grounds are joint property and so are fruit trees and orchards.

There is no central hereditary power junta rather it varies with time to time. Polygamy is a common practice which becomes a necessity because of frequent feuds and war. There is no concept of population control rather more the children stronger is the clan and tribe. Women are treated with respect and are seldom seen outside their walled compounds. Kidnapping or rape of females is a rarity. The practising religion is the Sunni sect of Islam. Elders are respected, Jirga is the parliament of the clan where collective decisions are taken and are bound to be observed.

⁷ Ibid p,64

Military Organisations

Levies

The very first local military force known as Levies was raised in Baluchistan in 1880, and even Khyber Rifles which was raised in 1883 is a classic example of integrating the British way of politics with the tribal culture. In North Waziristan the very first Levies were raised in 1895 which were upgraded to Militia in 1900.

Fundamentally Levies were comprised of men from one tribe or Tochi Valley where as Militia had the same nomenclature and organisation but it was more organised and better equipped. Militia had army officers in command who were all British, it also had native officers as well from regular army on deputation.

1919 proved to be a decisive year when almost all Militias revolted in varying degree against their officers because of Third Afghan War. Resultantly majority of militias were upgraded into Scouts including North Waziristan, where in 1922 Tochi Scouts replaced North Waziristan Militia. Scouts had more strength, more weapons and above all it had troops from tribes outside the valley.

Period between 1936 -1947 is very interesting as no less than 30,000 British troops were deployed in North Waziristan to hunt one man Fakir of Ipi. It should be kept in mind that at that period British military needed every man to counter Nazism thus this deployment of such magnitude speaks for itself.

This period also gives an insight of two military cultures working together, one that of regular army with its heavy load of rules and regulations and other that of Scouts with practical and very little bureaucratic channels.

In post 1947 the area resorted to its pre 1895 status ; only difference that of additional roads and other infrastructure but no person of army was allowed to stay inside the tribal area; scouts were exemption. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 is another mile stone , not only it provides logical background to the often much debated Forward Policy but also it gives another insight into tribal mind-set especially of Tochi Valley. Tribes did not allowed army to operates from their area but they whole heartedly cooperated with scouts. For all practical purpose there was no army inside the tribal area till 2005.

9/11 seems to be a defining moment in our history, when a super power was hit hard in its own backyard , accuses were all from these tribal areas; this brings into lime light the importance of these tribes who for all practical purpose were treated as thing of past.

In North Waziristan the operations between 9/11 till July 2005 were all conducted by the Tochi Scouts with very little casualties, they were able to open up three inaccessible areas of Bangidhar, Kazha and DwaToi. Army took over the operational and political control of the agency from 5th July 2005 and till to date is in control with very little to show in its balance of credits to justify enormous spending and colossal casualties. It has not been able to move into an area which was previously not occupied by the Tochi Scouts.

Amidst all this the Corps of Tochi Levies were raised again in 2005 with final passing out of 93 levies taking place in September 2012.

Militia, Levies and Scouts are deceptive words having multiple connotations even when they are used in militarily sense. Levies are in classical sense a force which has been levied, comprising of natives who are not professional soldiers rather depicted as a kind of private army. Militia on other hand is even more deceptive in nature. It represents peoples army which is volunteer in nature and recruited from natives such as Illinois Militia, Iraq militia, Druz Militia and so on. Scouts in military terms are akin to the gathering of information ahead of regular army, it is also associated more with Boy Scouts movement. Regular army is a body of professional soldiers who represents state and as such are legally authorised to use force ; they represent the sovereignty of a state.

British ingress towards the frontier was spearheaded by the military formations all irregular in nature, mainly composed of natives with local leading persons responsible for training and discipline. These formations thus became a symbol of civilisation and around them the native culture has flourished in the area. Bringing economic and social changes.

Within these corps exists a unique and independent culture which is quite contrary to the army culture, this si another theme to be explored that how these varying cultures of uniform have affected the peace on the frontier.

Literature Review

Existing material on the subject is quite rich as far as the individual account are concerned. There are sufficient primary sources on the campaign in Frontier ; what is missing is the collective study of all in a particular agency and analyse their role in the achievement of the aim which itself remained varying in nature. The Literature can be divided into two broad categories, one which deals with the period 1895-1947 and other after it. The first period is rich in terms of primary sources and public books which includes

Andrew Skeen ,General Sir, *Passing It On* first Edition 1932, (HQ Frontier Corps, Peshawar, 1985).

H.L. Nevill Captain, *Campaigns of The North West Frontier*, First edition 1910 (Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 2003)

Imperial Gazetteer Provincial Series North West Frontier province, First edition 1910 (sang-e-Meel Lahore, 2002)

Charles Chenevix Trench *The Frontier Scouts*, Indian edition (Rupa & company, New Delhi, 2002)

Evelyn Howell, *Mizh a Monograph on Government's Relations with the Mahsud Tribe* (Government of India, Simla, 1931)

Frank Leeson *Frontier Legion With the Khassadars of North Waziristan* (Leeson Archive, Sussex, 2003)

Muhammad Nawaz Major *The Guardian of Frontier The Frontier Corps NWFP* (Headquarters Frontier Corps, Peshawar, 1994).

As is obvious that all deals with the area and concept in varying degree, there is no literature on post 9/11 in the area for the reason that area is closed to all visitors. The regimental histories have been compiled and so are the military expedition reports along with handful of memoirs; what is needed is to establish a link among all three to find the cultural variation

Theoretical Framework.

Man by nature is timid and peaceful and at the least danger his first reaction is to flee, he only fights through the force of his habit and experience. Honour, interest, prejudice, vengeance all those passions which make him brave. Danger and death are results of state of nature, there is no war between the man it is only between the states⁸ wrote Jean-Jacques Rousseau {1712-1778}. Another philosophical view as expressed by Emmerich De Vattel {1714-1767} revolves around two principles, first one declares that 'regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides' and second principles govern whatever is permitted to one because of the state of war is also permissible to the other⁹.

There exists two **models of state hood**, one known as Machiavellian model in which the sole aim is to enhance the power of a state irrespective of morality the second is known as Stateman model

⁸ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, pp, 167-170.

⁹ M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentili to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p 110.

in which due regard is given to the law, justice and fact that one course which affects the good of majority is the most suitable.¹⁰

State & Nation, state is defined as ‘anybody of people occupying a definite territory and political organised under one government’¹¹ where as nation is defined as ‘ any aggregation of people having like institutions and customs and a sense of social homogeneity and mutual interest’.

Ernest Renan stated in 1882 that that it is not only the common language but the fact that having accomplished great things in past the wish to accomplish the great things in future constitutes a nation. Thus a state may be composed of many nations¹². There are categories of states like, strong state, weak state, failed state, coherent state, multi national state {state comprising of two or more nations}, multi state nation { nation whose members live in two or more states}¹³

Sovereignty . No word is used in political science with greater meanings of word than sovereignty , ‘few political conceptions have been the subject of so much discussion among us in last 100 years’ professor Methwin,¹⁴. It is often described as the supreme power over citizens and subjects without restrained by law.¹⁵ Stated by Jean Bodwin { 1530-1596}.

Ideology. ‘It is a cluster of ideas about life, society or government which originate in most cases as consciously advocated or dogmatically asserted. Social, political or religious slogans or battles cries and which through continuous usages and preachment gradually becomes the characteristics beliefs or dogmas of a particular group, party or nationality’¹⁶

Aristotle kept the war separate from political philosophy, Plato declares that military science and theory of warfare form a part of art of citizenship referring here to skill in the use of arms¹⁷. History is paramount in understanding the warfare, its causes are numerable, ranging from self defence , defence of property to ideologies; although certain thinkers tend to differ for instance Hugo Grotius

¹⁰Stanely Hoffman, ed, Contemporary Theory in International Relations { Prentice, new Jersey, 1960} pp, 15-16

¹¹ Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-2.

¹² Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-13. Stated by Hans Morgenthau.

¹³ Mark armstutz, International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-31.

¹⁴ Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25

¹⁵ Mark armstutz, International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999}, p-28 also see Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25

¹⁶ Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-82 as stated by Deottut Le Tracy {1754-1836}

¹⁷ M.G. Forsyth edited, The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentilli to Traitschke {George Allen, London, 1970}, p - 18

{1583-1645} considers those wars as just which are undertaken against those who have committed sin against the nature¹⁸ on the other hand Alberto Gentili {1552-1608} is of the opinion that religion is an individual matter and as such religious wars cannot be justified.

Thus one of the major difference in understanding the **Nature of War** is in its justification and there are always two opinions that exists that is why nations or humans go to war. On the other hand apart from religious causes there are boundaries and Frontier disputes which have compelled the nations to exercise this option. This kind of disputes can be classified in four broad categories. In the first one there existed no regional boundary, neither delimited or demarcated and no mutually agreed treaty as well. The Anglo-Afghan wars 1839-1872 are the examples where there was no boundary between India and Afghanistan. It was finally agreed upon in 1893 under Durand Line agreement. In next category , there existed a boundary a defacto frontier either delimited in a treaty or map or even demarcated on the ground but the entire legitimacy is challenged by one party or the other. The Third Anglo-Afghan war of 1919 is a classic example of this kind . Pakistan – india war of 1965 over Rann of kutch is another glaring example of this kind. In the third category there exists two rival delimitations sometimes deriving from different teaties, China – India conflict of 1962 falls in this category .last is the type where a mutually agreed delimitation exists but dispute is about the demarcation on ground.¹⁹ Frontier dispute between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi , it was initially agreed upon between the Ottoman and Britain in 1914 but later Ibn Saud rejected it and issue erupted in 1949.

Methods to resolve a conflict are, war, bilateral negotiatns, good offices {efforts of third party to resolve issue}, mediation which is request by both parties to a third party, arbitration and finally judicial settlement²⁰.

Laws of Nation. There are three types of such laws, first is known as Volountary Law, second is called Conventional law and customary law is the third category²¹.

War & Society

Clausewitz a 19th century Prussian military philosopher in his epic 'On War' has stated war as an extension of policy, he further highlights that defence is the more strong type of military operations than offense. Nicola Machiavelli a 14th century Italian was the first one to highlight the importance of militia in the national defence, this he stated in his 'Art of War'. Thus having affirmed that war or violence are integral part of human civilisation the key query as to why a

¹⁸Ibid, p-73.

¹⁹ Evan Luard Edited, The International Regulations of Frontier Dispute {Thames, London, 1970} p-16.

²⁰ Evan Luard Edited, The International Regulations of Frontier Dispute {Thames, London, 1970}, pp, 24-29

²¹ Pierre Renovvin& Jean Baptiste Duroselle translated by Mary Ilford ‘ Introduction to the History of international Relations { Praegon, London, 1967} p-110

permanent peace has not been attained in North Waziristan; partially offset the 'Contact Hypothesis' theory. In a broad spectrum the very concept of Two Nation Theory is modified to Two Civilisation Theory thus having varying nations within the states, the friction among nations thus becomes paramount.

In North Waziristan the Forward Policy is still alive and actions of Pakistan are nothing new as compare to the hundred years old policy. Within that policy there were two key elements , one 'Butcher & Bolt' and other being ' Warden of Marches'. The overall state policy of either Masterly Inactivity or Forward Policy thus are the cardinal threads. Policies does not die down naturally with the transfer of power rather they are owned by the successor states and Pakistan's policy towards the tribal areas should be seen in this context.

Hypothesis

There exists varying cultures within a state and nation, in North Waziristan the major and predominant cause of violence is not economical or religious rather it is deep rooted in cultural variations. Regular army has failed to comprehend it and resultantly its presence increases the level of violence.

Historical Setting

World history originates around the banks of rivers especially the Nile, Mesopotamia, Yellow and Indus River. Unlike the other three civilization there is no written record of Indus Valley but through the archaeological evidence it is regarded as the cradle of civilization. The oral history Rig Veda which dates back to almost 1100 years B.C. highlights the fact that the mountainous tribes Aryans migrated from Central Asia and came down upon the plains of Indus Valley. These Aryans were fun loving cruel nomads who had their own code of conduct in which it was expected to honour the guests and not to let anyone go empty handed if he has knocked on your door, Aryans gamble and drink Soma which was an intoxicating substance, Aryan was generally scared of his mother in law especially after loosing in gambling. These Aryans entrenched themselves in the upper part of Indus Valley at Harappa and later they destroyed the Dravidians living in the lower part of Indus Valley notably Mohenjodaro. Who were these Aryans the history is not very clear or precise the reason being lack of any physical evidence as present in other riparian civilisations.

Herodotus the 'Father of History' wrote an account of Indus Valley in 400 B.C. The Indus Valley was divided into two separate layers the upper portion was known as the Taxila {present day Taxila} it was the last of the twenty satrapies {provinces} of the Persian empire under Darius and the most wealthy because it was paying the highest amount of tax, it was paying 360 talents of gold where

as the Bactra was paying 360 talents of silver and the gold was worth 15 times more than silver. The whole of the Indus valley region was called Hindu by the Persians, Sindhu in Sanskrit language is the name for river and because of phonetics the Persians started calling it Hindu and all the inhabitants were known as Hindus. Alexander the Great from 330 B.C. entered into the region which is presently known as Central Asia and entered into present day Pakistan in 326 B.C. The natives which he encountered in his expedition were fierce and militant in nature. Alexander entered from the Khyber Pass in a two pronged advance and later crossed Indus close to present day Attock, had his major and decisive battle against Porus on the banks of Hydaspes {Jhelum River} moved forward and finally on the eastern banks of Ravi his troops mutinied and he rolled back his forces opting to follow the River Indus down stream. He sailed with portion of his forces and majority marched on the banks for protection. He met constant resistance and attack during this sojourn from tribes inhabiting the banks of Indus. Alexander was able to survive and considered himself fortunate enough to reach back Persia through the present day Balochistan. This Greek invasion provided the first ever written account of the natives as Alexander had no less than five court historians to record his adventure unfortunately none of that has survived today.

India by Alexander time had progressed into two distinct riparian civilisation the Ganges/Jumna & Indus with its Punjab tributaries. Alexander had left his Greek lieutenants in the conquered territories which soon after Alexander's death erupted into a civil war with River Indus acting by and large as the boundary. The Mauryan Dynasty under Chandragupta Maurya emerged at the Magadha on the banks of Ganges and later his grandson Asoka expanded the empire but he soon became an ardent Buddhist renouncing all kind of violence. This non violent approach was adopted as the state policy and became an integral part of Ganges culture where as the tribes of Indus Valley especially living in the adjoining mountains retained their Aryan identity.

The very first Islamic army had knocked on the doors of the Central Asia when they were in the hunt of the Firuz the emperor of Persia, Muslims had settled at Merv by 646. Qutaibah ibn Muslim was the governor of Khurasan the north eastern part of Persia who between 710-715 conquered the Central Asia especially the Bactria and Ferghana valley the heart land of the Turks, these Turks were nomadic tribes originating from the Mongolian steppes and one the tribe Ye Hu was able to establish himself in the Jaxarates {Amu Darya} area, Turk was the name given by Arabs to all nomadic tribes of Central Asia thus it does not represent any particular ethnic tribe²². In 751 a decisive battle between the Muslims and the Turks who also had the support of the Chinese army took place at In which not only the Turks were defeated but it also put an end to the Chinese rule in the area for another thousand years. Resultantly almost all Turk tribes accepted Islam.

²² The Muslim World, Age of Caliphates, p-37

Afghanistan was not a country at that era in same sense as one talks of Persia of that time. The society dwelled around the mountains and a tribal system which was a direct descendent of Old Testament flourished in mountainous region of Hindu Kush, a kind of controlled anarchy, where all the tribes were independent to run their affairs which amounted mainly in livestock breeding and raids on the caravans and low lying villages astride the foothills²³

These Turks became an elite force as due to consistent civil strife the Caliphs at Baghdad felt the need to have a force which should be above political alliance for their personal security, with the passage of times these Turks became the king makers and Seljuk Turks were the first one which entered Baghdad and were granted the titles of Sultan, these Turks however retained the Caliphate to the Abbasids but were the real power behind the throne. Another of these Turks established the first Islamic dynasty in Central Asia under the name of Samanids which were eventually overpowered by the Oghuz Turks, from these Samanid Turks emerged the Ghazna Turks which shaped the destiny of the India for another five hundred years.

The founder of the dynasty was Sebuktegin {r 977-997} a Turk slave who rose to distinction and it was he who like earlier Aryans claimed his territory to the natural boundary of Indus, This frontier including Kabul were under HinduShai kingdoms. He first invaded India and defeated the Hindu Shahis { 989 & in 991} who gave tribute to Ghazna after his death his son Mahmood of Ghazna continued the conquest{ 1000-1030}, the striking aspect of the successive humiliation of the Hindu states year after takes the art of warfare to new heights, it is amazing to draw a conclusion with the character of the Hindustani militant reaction to the Alexander The Great which finally worn the will power of his Macedonian soldiers, the psychological impact on the over all population must have been devastating as it created a myth of geographical superiority between the plain dwellers of Punjab, Sind, Deccan, and Ganges Valley who were ruthlessly being subdued by the mountainous people, the nomadic tribes and Turks were after nothing else but nomads, wealth taken at will from the Hindu temples help him create the Ghazna culture which became the symbol of the Turkish people, on the historic note it was the culmination point of the Aryans who almost 2000 years ago humiliated the Dravidians, this time they built Ghazna seat of first Islamic Kingdom of Hindustan, notable historian Al Berouni was able to write down the history of the regime and the social life pattern of the India. India in practical term was just a vassal state of Ghazna. As its very capital of Harsha empire Kanauj was sacked by him in 1018 in which the Rajputs displayed their honor of committing mass Jauhar {suicide} after defeat, in 1024 Mahmood's most severe psychological blow came with his almost 500 miles deep expedition to the southern Dravidian sacred temple at Somnath ' it had 1000 Brahmins, 300 barbers and 350 temple prostitutes in constant attendance and chief idol a huge lingam the

phallic symbol of Shiva was washed in water from the sacred Ganges carried over 750 miles....²⁴ For Hindu nation it was a knock out blow an ultimate of Dravidian culture's and religious surrender, the destruction of the myth and symbol of Brahminic and Hindu identity was mental surrender, from this state of mind from Hindus never recovered right till the end when India was divided on the religious line .

India after the Mahmood of Ghazna's raids became a vassal state for the Turk dynasties of the western mountains, Indus became part of mountain dwellers the very fact that Indus Valley had embraced Islam changed the over all picture of the area. The invading Turks were not regarded as an invaders rather as brethren of Islam. Ghazna was destroyed by the neighbouring Ghor and with it the India also passed from the hands of the Ghaznavities to Ghorids. ShahbuddinGhori was initially resisted by the Ganga Valley but very next year the all semblance of resistance were destroyed by Shahbuddin and from 1206-1526 A.D. India or more specifically all the three riparian civilisations were under the control of Muslims who were chiefly Turks and Afghans later this was overthrown by the Moghuls who descended down from Central Asia. The rule of Delhi Sultanate²⁵ is divided into following dynasties. Mamluks 1206-1290 A.D. Khiljis 1290 – 1320 A.D. Tughluqs 1320 – 1414 A.D. The sayyids 1414 -1451 A.D. and Lodhis 1451 – 1526 A.D.

Shihabud din Ghori had no male heir, he had appointed three governors in occupied India, QutubUd Din Aibak was given the rule of Jumna/ Ganga Valley, Nasir al Din Qabachah was made the governor of lower Indus valley and Taj al Din Yaldiz was given the helm of affairs of Karman and Sankuran. Aibak was made governor of Delhi in 1192 A.D. with instructions to made conquest further east²⁶. All these Turk governors were related to each other through intermarriages which took place on the command of ShihabUd DinGhori. Aibak was married to the daughter of Yalduz similarly another daughter of Yalduz was married to Qubachah apparently ShihabGhori had the idea of creating peace among his governors through these marriages but it did not worked the way he had thought as soon after his death the civil war broke out among these chieftains for the control of the power. Yalduz occupied Ghazna, Aibak declared himself sovereign in Ganga and so was Qabachah in Sind or lower Indus. Aibak was regarded very high by the late ShihabGhori and his rank was raised

The bloodline of this empire were the Afghans and Turks Muslims which formed the fighting backbone of the military and ruling junta. The invasion of Tamerlane in 1399 and before him the Mongols in 12th century both originating from the Central Asia once again engraved the racial superiority of the mountain dwellers since Tamerlane had specifically targeted the Hindu population

²⁴ A History of Asia Volume 1, Formation of Civilisations from Antiquity to 1600. Woodbridge,Hilary& Frank { Allyn,Boston,1964},p-208

²⁵ The rulers who ruled India before the Moghuls have been termed as Delhi Sultans and the empire is termed as Delhi Sultanate.

²⁶ Agha HussainHamdani*The Frontier Policy of The Delhi Sultans*, Pakistan National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research {Islamabad,1986}.p-39.

thus the religious supremacy of Islam over the non believers remained intact. Mughul Empire was established by Babur of Ferghana in 1526 after crushing the Muslim Sultan of Delhi, {Sultan Lodhi was an Afghan} Mughul empire later not only protected the native population from the raids of mountain tribes of Afghanistan but also adopted a more liberal approach towards the non believers with varying degree of freedom. Afghanistan did not exist as a country under Moghuls²⁷, Kabul the main city acted as a base camp for the Babur, other important cities like Kandahar, Herat, Khiva, Bukhara were ruled by the native tribes and might is right was the law, it was Akbar the Great who had Kandhar under his rule, another Mughul King Shah Jehan did try to capture the Central Asia and was successful for a short time to keep imperial forces at Ferghana. Western part of Afghanistan remained under control of Persian before the Hostilak rebellion of 1720 which again put the Kandharis in power. In 1738 Delhi was ravaged first by the Persian Nadir Shah and later in 1763 by the Afghan Ahmed Shah Abdalli who in true sense is the founder of modern day Afghanistan. He kept Lahore, Kashmir and Multan as provinces of his Afghan empire and from this point in history the cultural clash took a new shape in the form of religious animosity between the Afghan Muslims and the Punjabi Sikhs.

Sikhism took birth in Punjab in 1520 AD and despite having Muslim sufi saints teachings as part of their religion they were prosecuted ruthlessly by the Aurangzeb and as such when the Abdalli's forces were marching back to the mountain retreat they were attacked by the Sikh bands. In 1799 the Sikhs finally captured Lahore and within years had the Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar under their control, for the first time in a thousand years the martial supremacy of the mountain dwellers of Hindu Kush was broken by the native dwellers of plains of India.

Sikhs did not have an easy and comprehensive control over the territory and people living on the Western bank of River Indus yet through a blend of diplomacy and militancy Ranjeet was able to have his forces in Peshawar²⁸ and for a short time had the control over the Khyber Pass as well. The Kabul and Lahore thus remained embroiled in a constant war of attrition. The tribes inhabiting the mountainous region remained independent and owed no allegiance to any ruler however the religious and ethnic commonality bounded them together against Sikhs furthermore the tribes internal feuds were such that they were erratic and unpredictable in their conduct, looting, levying of taxes on trade and forces passing through their area of influence were the cornerstone of their economy. Ranjeet Singh had kept the Kashmir under the Dogra rulers in a semi autonomous state. Kashmir at that time had no well defined boundary in the North, West and East. Dogras expanded the frontiers of Kashmir in these three directions and were able to capture the Gilgit, Skardu, Laddakh and also made inroads

²⁷ Charles, Miller, *Khyber, The Story Of The North West Frontier*, {Mcdonald & Jane's London, 1977}, pp xiii

²⁸ Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. {Hem, New Delhi, 1980}. pp-48-52, pp 121-129

into tribal territory of Marghalla and Hazara hills. Ranjeet Singh also staked claims on Eastern Afghanistan²⁹.

On 31st December 1600 **Queen Elizabeth** granted a charter to ‘The Company of Merchants of London trading unto the East Indies.’ On 11th January 1613 the Muhgul Emperor Jahangir issued a firman to establish a factory at Surat to Captain Best the company’s representative, in 1625 a trading centre established at Masulipatam {Madras} and in 1634 a trading factory was established at Piplee {Bengal}. Later these factories and trading centres were fortified and troops some British some natives were employed for the protection, in 1698 a new Company of Merchants received its charter, in 1708 both companies were amalgamated under the title of The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies or East India Company. Thus these areas became the presidencies Bombay, Madras and Bengal each having its own army commanded by separate commander in chief who also was the president answerable to directors at London. By 1741 the Bombay Army had a battalion of troops consisting of seven companies and formal artillery was raised in 1748, in the same year Major Lawrence Stringer was appointed as the commander in chief of all the armies in India. Promotion was strictly based upon seniority only in Bombay the battalion system was adopted in other two presidencies the companies remained the basic unit. The feud between the French & British trading companies brought a larger influx of European troops into India and also an increase in the army of native soldiers. In 1754 the British and French troops clashed at Madras in the same year the first detachment of Royal Troops 39th Foot arrived in India as reinforcement it also brought into effect the Mutiny Act into India thus the forces in India were divided into Royal Troops, Company’s European Troops and Company’s Native Troops. In 1757 the first Indian Regiment was organised onto European pattern it had native troops but officers were all British it was known as ‘LalPaltan’, it had three British officers several British non commissioned officers 42 Indian officers and 820 Indian rank and file, the Paltan had ten companies. It also had a Indian commandant and adjutant. In Madras six such battalions were raised in 1759 and in Bombay native battalions were raised in 1767, the man responsible for this pragmatic organisation was Clive known as ‘Clive of Plassey’ in history. The officers of East India Company troops despite their seniority were junior to the King’s troops and this created several mutinies among them mainly over pay the native Bengal troops also show their resentment mainly over the pay. This resulted in reorganisation of the army in India in 1796 the number of British troops in India both company & King amounted to over 13000 where as the native troops numbered around 57000. Reorganisation resulted in decrease of native troops and increase in the number of British officers which were increased to 22 from the previous 12, the system of two battalion regiment was also introduced. A colonel commanded the regiment having two lieutenant colonels, one for each battalion which also had one major, four captains, 11 lieutenants and five ensigns. The battalions were also numbered for the first time in this organisation. In 1824 further

²⁹ Miller, *Khyber*, p xv

reforms were carried out in the army which resulted in the breaking up of two battalion regiment for the Indian troops it also necessitated renumbering of battalions the irregular cavalry regiments were also raised the ratio of cavalry to infantry battalions was 1 to 7.

After 1857 the troops of the East India Company were placed under the crown the proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1st November 1858 practically ceased the existence of East India Company and its troops. The company's European troops became British regiments and artillery of three presidencies was amalgamated into Royal Artillery. In 1861 reorganisation was carried out under which the strength of British officers in cavalry and infantry regiments was reduced to six per battalion however the presidency system was retained but a staff corps was introduced into them

Waziristan is perhaps the only tribal area which is afforded the status of an independent country and it is obvious from its name , the suffix of 'stan' is important because it is used with a nation hood concept other examples are that of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan but it was Waziristan which had this name long before any other nation had that.

Waziris are an ancient tribe most probably an Aryan in nature who with the passage of history migrated with the pioneer Aryan tribes and instead of descending down to the Indus Valley preferred to have their inhabit in the mountainous region of Hindu Kush close to the Indus itself rather than dwelling at the plains

The ancient migration of Aryans took place almost 2000 years B.C. and they came down from Central Asia towards the fertile Indus Valley through the passes of Hindu Kush which starting from extreme north includes Karakorum, Mintka, Baroghal, Khyber, PeiwarKotal or Kurram, Tochi , Gomal and Bolan. The Aryan migration or invasion took place along the rivers flowing from east towards west as each river namely Gilgit, Kabul, Kurram ,Tochi and Gomal ultimately joins with the Indus thus these river beds became the routes. Waziris or Waziristan is the country between the River Kurram and River Gomal.

The tribal structure and the society developed around clan system intermarriages among blood relations bonded the ties and each family settling around some water source. These river are unlike Nile are not based upon a single water reservoir rather the mountain streams called Aligad are formed due to melting of snow and frequent rain . The valleys are thus inhabited by clans who fought with each other as they are doing so even today for the right over water and land.

Waziristan as seen from air is beautiful in outlook, it is not as hostile or deathly as the Northern Hindukush mountain territory looks from air, it has green valleys high mountain ranges not exceeding the snowline and plains which seems once were fertile but still the width and breadth is not good enough to have air field in every valley.

On a map of having scale one to a million the eastings from 66 degrees onwards one observes brown colour as predominant the northings corresponding to it that is 32 degrees northwards up till 34 degree the terrain is barren and void of any major water reservoirs two water reservoirs namely Ab e Istada&DashtNawar are eye catching because of blue colour, major towns are Ghazna, Gardez&Matun even Kabul is enclosed in the area. The Durand Line which is marked in red, the eastern side of it has more green colour and finally the Indus is major blue colour showing the water life line thus it is natural to assume that all the population was drawn magnetically towards the Indus. Durand line does not follow any natural riparian division rather it follows the crest line of the mountains and that too not in a straight line but over the passes that allows the movement from east towards the Indus.

Area between the Kurram River or the PeiwarKotal Pass down south till Gomal Pass or Gomal River is the country of Waziris, it is in terms of historical contest, in terms of administrative boundary the area is divided into valleys thus Valley adjacent to PeiwarKotal is termed as Kurram Valley and inhabited by tribes other than the Waziris.

The over all topography of the area is pleasant and seems lively when compared to the Balochistan and extreme northern Hindukush. The rivers are the source of life but they seem to have dried out in the era of Aryan migration and one cannot rule out that the major reason and cause of migration was this dearth of water. For last five hundred years these river beds occasionally come to life due to heavy snow fall or rain which causes the small innumerable riverine and streams to gush down the mountains and join the major rivers thus the population is based around these beds of fertile land, over all the area is rocky but not menacing in nature. Mountains are high yet none is higher than 12000 feet. The layout of ground between Tochi River and Gomal is most pleasant with green pastures and lively valleys dotted with fruit trees and wildlife however the area over all cannot sustain the inhabitants purely on its own produce. The major crop is maize and wheat, rice is not produced in the area. Fruits are in abundance especially the apples, grapes, walnut, pomegranate and watermelon. Weather is tolerable both in winter and summer however the cold weather does force temporary migration of nomadic peoples known as powindahs who at the start of winter season migrate from the highland west of Durand Line towards the Indus Valley and then return to their lands in summer.

This country between latitude 32 – 33 degrees 22 minutes north and longitude 69 degrees 20 minutes to 70 degrees 36 minutes is known as Waziristan and inhabited by Waziris as the major tribe. The origin of Waziristan is obscure in history the tradition goes that Wazir son of Suleiman son of Kakai son of Karlan who was the grandson of Ghurghust thus they are described as Karlanri or GhurghustPathan, thus Wazir had two sons namely Khizri and Lali. Khizri had three sons namely Musa, Mahmud and Mubarak. Musa was called Darwesh from his religious character and thus clan

that is today known as DarweshKhel Wazir are his descended. Musa had two sons namely Utman and Ahmed which thus forms the sub clans of DarweshKhel as Utmanzai&Ahmedzai. Mahmud had a son called mahsud which forms the Mahsud Wazir Tribe or clan similarly Mubarak had one son name Gurbuz which forms the Gurbuz Wazir tribe. Thus it is seen that all the clans are interlinked through blood line and they live in the area described above however with the passage of history all these clans of same tribe occupied distinct geographical areas. Gurbuz lives in the area between Tochi Pass and Khost valley, Mahsud occupies the southern edge between the Tochi and Gomal and Uthmanzai and Ahmedzai are found in between Tochi and Kurram River. The other tribes inhabiting the country are Bhittanis and Dauris.

From 1800 onwards the British East India Company felt the threat from Napoleon who was presumed to be making an alliance with the Russians and in this regards the Company made an treaty with the Maharajah Ranjit Singh of Punjab and also sent officers for intelligence gathering towards Persia which resulted in a treaty with the Shah in 1807, soon the threat of Napoleon subsided however the Russians remained a distant reality. Area beyond Beas and especially territories west of Indus were an alien grounds for the Company. Many adventurous officers under took expeditions in various disguises to gather the information the focus remained on the North and North Western Frontiers. The First Afghan War of 1839-1842 was the first attempt to militarily subjugate the territories of Afghanistan or rather the area West of Indus. Sikh Khalsa had already captured the Peshawar Vale in Kashmir in 1819 Multan in ... Hazara in ... and Gilgit in Ranjit Singh in a diplomatic coup refused to allow the British troops to march through his territories towards the Afghanistan resultantly the military expedition towards Afghanistan adopted the long circuitous route of the south marching from Sukkur through Bolan Pass and entering Afghanistan from Kandahar and reaching Kabul where after a brief stay the whole of the force was attacked by the natives and forced to retreat in which out of the original 16000 troops only one escaped death to narrate the events this was the single most military disaster that felt upon the BEIC since their formation. From this point onwards the myth of racial superiority of the white was shattered and a chain of events in which first the Sind was annexed in 1842, maharajah Ranjit Singh died after brief illness in 1840 followed by a war of succession among his heirs this resulted in the First Anglo Sikh War of 1842 in which Sikhs suffered defeat. Kashmir as a result of this war was sold to Maharajah Ghulabsingh for his keeping away from helping the Sikhs originally the Hazara tract was part of the sale to Ghulab Singh but he being unable to control the warring and militant tribes exchanged the area for more territory in Punjab. Second Anglo Sikh War of 1846 finally resulted in the annexation of Punjab by the British and Henry Lawrence was made the governor of Punjab.

The frontiers of Punjab at that time in the west bounded on the Indus it was only in upper Indus Valley at Peshawar that Sikh Rule was on the western banks of Indus otherwise they remained confined to the eastern fringes.

In 1857 the native troops initiated a violent chain reaction almost in all native battalions because of religious sentiments. After 1857 the troops of the East India Company were placed under the crown the proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1st November 1858 practically ceased the existence of East India Company and its troops. The company's European troops became British regiments and artillery of three presidencies was amalgamated into Royal Artillery. In 1861 reorganisation was carried out under which the strength of British officers in cavalry and infantry regiments was reduced to six per battalion however the presidency system was retained but a staff corps was introduced into them.

Great Game & Forward Policy

The political and military rivalry of European continent also had its effects on the sub continental politics, initially British had apprehensions about the Napoleon's advance towards the India which were later replaced by the Russians after the treaty of Vienna in 1815. By this time in history the area West of present day Afghanistan was a conglomeration of independent small valley states all Islamic in nature like Khiva and Merv³⁰, these were captured by the Russians therefore British in order to keep an eye on the affairs wanted to have a friendly and a subservient ruler in Kabul which was under control of Dost Muhammad. British failed in diplomacy to achieve their aim and therefore the first Anglo Afghan war started in 1839. Ranjeet Singh did not allow troops of BEIC to march through his territory which was the most feasible in terms of logistics. The first Anglo Afghan war resulted for a brief time to have a friendly Afghan ruler, the Shah Shuja at Kabul, however Afghans revolted against Shah Shuja and British Consulate at Kabul was burnt in 1841³¹, thus ended the sphere of influence in Afghanistan for the British.

'First Afghan war could not pass and die down and disappear leaving no trace behind, the ripples of that most disastrous adventure spread far and wide till they infected every Afghan all along the miles of frontier from Pamirs to the Persian desert...they spread into India and into the hearts of Bengal army...it echoed into St Petersburg'.³²

³⁰ Anila, Bali .*THE RUSSO-AFGHAN BOUNDARY DEMARCATION 1884-95: BRITAIN AND THE RUSSIAN THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF INDIA*, {School of Humanities, University of Ulster. Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.1985}. pp 25-27

³¹ Azmat, Hayat, *The Durand Line its Geo-Strategic Importance* { Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2000} pp 63-64

³² Ibid p,64

The annexation of the Punjab in 1846 brought forward the BEIC troops to the banks of River Indus the traditional natural boundary between two civilizations, on the Western bank were the foothills. BEIC and especially the lieutenant governor of Punjab, Lawrence were adamant to protect the subject population inhabiting the forward edge of British Empire, BEIC had taken over the legal responsibility of Ranjeet Singh's empire which by itself was based upon the tacit mixture of diplomacy and militancy. Area West of River Indus from Peshawar down South Dera Ghazi Khan was divided into six Frontier Districts {FD} a separate force the Punjab Irregular Force{PIF} was also raised which was put under command of Punjab Government instead of a central command³³. Between 1849 - 1854 over eighteen military punitive expeditions³⁴ were conducted to punish the tribes for their acts of hostility that included looting of caravans and attacks on BEIC, which from tribes perspective was nothing new.

In 1852 the first expedition against the Wazirs was carried out then in 1859 and 1860 in 1879 an economic blockade of Wazirs was enforced and in 1881 another military expedition was conducted against them. Meanwhile Sir Robert Sandeman was able to made an inroad into the Balochistan by entering into treaties with the Marri and Bugti tribes and started moving up northwards and this led to the Forward Policy which aimed at trusting the tribes and making them responsible for their own area. Levies were introduced in which the native tribes were paid for such purpose and this gradually led to the opening of Gomal Pass and this now left only one major pass leading into India The Tochi pass and for this the negotiations started with the Wazir tribes.

First Afghan –Anglo Treaty 1855. A treaty was signed between the John Lawrence chief commissioner of Punjab and Dost Muhammad the Walee of Kabul at Peshawar on 30th March 1855, it had three articles and it was a treaty in which both parties expressed perpetual peace and friendship, not to intervene in each others territories and also acknowledging the sovereignty of each other over their respective areas, Dost Muhammad agreed to be an 'enemy of enemies of honourable East India Company'³⁵. Another treaty was signed in Peshawar on 26th January 1857, in which British agreed to pay the Dost Muhammad one lakh rupees per month for his assistance against the Persian which had captured Herat along with 4000 muskets³⁶.

In Post 1857 the War Office and politicians in London especially prime ministers Disraeli and Gladstone had varying policy on countering the Russian threat, one school of thought favoured a 'Forward Policy' which promoted an aggressive posture having British military contingents

³³ Timothy Robert Moreman "Passing It On The Army In India &The DevelopmentOf Frontier Warfare 1849-1947.,Thesis submitted for the degree ofDoctor of Philosophy,King's College, University of London. pp 20-25

³⁴The Durand line ,pp 244-245

³⁵ Ibid ,p 246

³⁶Ibid,p 248.

stationed as far forward as possible there by making Afghanistan a dependency of British India, the other school of thought favoured an isolationist policy³⁷, there by rejecting the very idea of any Russian invasion to India as not practical, they considered River Indus as an viable and economical defence line³⁸.

Britain engineered the western borders of Afghanistan and Russians also agreed on having a clear sphere of influence, a treaty was signed with Russia on the extent of spheres of both empires in 1873 which later became the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia. Amir of Afghanistan was not consulted .

*"The Oxus was accepted as the basis of the yet un-demarcated northern boundary of Afghanistan. The main results were: (1) establishment of the Oxus as the dividing line between Afghan and Russian territory. (2) Russia's formal exclusion of Afghanistan from its sphere of influence, and (3) acceptance by the British of eventual absorption by Russia of all of the khanates north of the Oxus, including areas once under the suzerainty of the Amir of Kabul. Neither the British nor the Russians consulted the Amir in making the arrangement."*³⁹

Second Anglo-Afghan War

Second Afghan War started because in London the policy makers now adopted the forward policy. 'coming of the Conservatives in power in 1874. Lord Lytton became the new Governor General in India. The Forward Policy was pursued {by new governor General Lytton} and the tension grew... a mission under Neville Chamberlain left for Afghanistan, but on 25 August 1878 it was not permitted by the Afghan soldiers at the Khyber Pass to enter Afghanistan'⁴⁰

Thus a military expedition was carried out 'to remove all anxiety about India's north western frontier... decision for war has been taken'⁴¹. The war itself was a replica of first Anglo Afghan war

³⁷Miller, *Khyber*, pp 85-86.

³⁸Mujtaba ,Razvi, *The Frontiers of Pakistan, a Study of Frontiers Problem in Pakistan Foreign Policy* {National Publishing House,Karachi,1971}pp,144-145.

³⁹Anila ,*Russo-Afghan Boundary*, pp 10-11.

⁴⁰Dr Sultan-I-Rome *The Durand Line Agreement (1893): Its Pros and Cons*,
WWW.VALLEYSWAT.NET, accessed on 26th January , 2011

⁴¹Durand line ,pp 110-112 also see AslamKhattak, *A Pathan Odyssey*, {Oxford,Karachi,2000} pp,70-71. Also see,MuhammadQaiserJanjua. ["In the Shadow of the Durand Line; Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan"](#). Naval Postgraduate School, Monterrey, California,pp 66-67.

The tribes of Hindukush which hitherto remained independent had no other means of sustenance other than plundering the plains of Punjab, they on regular intervals in mass or in small parties raided the settled areas now Lawrence was adamant to stop this and to establish the writ of Company and to provide protection to the subjects living under the British rule from the marauding tribesmen. He first created a force which was formed of the natives of Peshawar vale and came to be known as Guides.